THE Nation

October 23, 1954
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A Congressman's Exposé

The "Facts Forum" Fable

by Wayne L. Hays

Voodoo Prosperity

by T. Balogh

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Versailles and London *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
The Meek-Douglas Race *Elmer Gertz*

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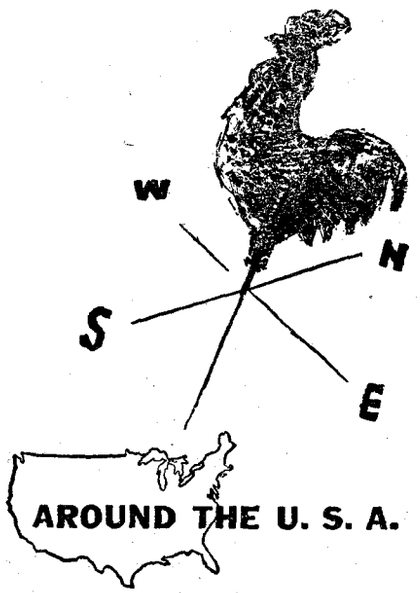

The American Assembly

Harriman, New York

THE American Assembly, the Columbia University seminar founded by President Eisenhower while he was still the university's head, met at Arden House early this month to discuss "The Federal Government Service—Its Character, Prestige, and Problems." The delegates freely admitted to reporters after four days of debate that the "sense of fear and insecurity" among government workers today was the "most alarming threat" to the efficiency of the federal civil service; yet the recommendation that the federal security program be revamped was buried deep in the Assembly's lengthy final report. The recommendation, moreover, was couched in language something less than bold and unequivocal, as it probably had to be to satisfy the fifty-four business men, educators, clergymen, and labor leaders who attended.

It was generally acknowledged that in the present international climate there must be some way of "checking the loyalty and discretion of government employees," but a good many delegates felt that the fear and insecurity among government workers were the direct consequence of Eisenhower's own security program, that the program as now formulated threatened civil liberties and affronted human dignity.

One of its defects, it was pointed out, was that it did not define disloyalty, each government department being free to interpret words like "subversion" and "security risk" as it saw fit. Drinking three martinis at a Washington cocktail party (two martinis and you were still on safe ground), entering a proscribed bookstore, or subscribing to certain publications for six months made a man suspect in one agency's eyes. How could a government worker be sure that his most innocent gestures would not some day be cited as evidences of disloyalty?

There was sharp criticism, alluded to in the Assembly's final report, of department heads who allowed their security officers to arrogate to themselves the responsibility of firing employees—the political commissar taking over control from the commanding general. Final determination of disloyalty, the delegates insisted, should be the duty of department heads or, better, of an independent body set up to judge security cases.

The Assembly deprecated the "trial procedure" in loyalty-security hearings. Accused employees were suspended without pay at a time when they badly needed money to pay counsel fees. Even if cleared, employees would have to pay out months of salary for legal expenses.

In its final report the Assembly unanimously recommended that "concepts of employee loyalty and security be set," that "an employee discharged on security or loyalty grounds have a right of appeal to a central review board," that accused government employees be continued on the federal pay roll until final determination of their cases. Going even farther, it asked whether employees fighting disloyalty-security charges should not be reimbursed for "court costs."

The delegates reserved their sharpest barbs—these were not incorporated in the three-thousand-word report—for the way the loyalty-security issue had been exploited for political advantage. No names were mentioned in the report, but in corridor conversations the delegates made it clear that they held the Republicans chiefly to blame for this.

Here you have Vice-President Nixon, one of them said, asking for the reelection of a Republican Congress because the Administration had removed Communists, fellow-travelers, and security risks from the government service "not by the hundreds, but by the thousands." Here you have McCarthy using the Monmouth investigation to vilify the Democrats. Here you have the President himself injecting the loyalty issue into his State of the Union message as a political tactic.

In the final analysis, this delegate said, the low morale of federal workers could be placed right at the door of the Chief Executive. How can you expect government workers to feel secure, he summed up, when their chief tells them over a nation-wide television hook-up that this Administration has already "smoked out" some 211,000 useless employees from government service?

ANTHONY BROY

[*Anthony Broy is U. N. correspondent for an overseas news agency.*]

Letters

Varied Poetry

Dear Sirs: In the September 11 issue of *The Nation,* your thoughtful review of "The Vegetable Kingdom" by Padraic Colum states that "by now the Indiana University Poetry Series seems definitely to have aligned itself on the side of the representational." As editor of the series I should like to correct the impression left by your review. From its beginning two years ago the Indiana University Poetry Series has tried to bring out the best poetry it could find, without regard to school or style. It has not aligned itself with representational or with any other kind of poetry. I believe that a glance at the six books we have already published and the two books—"Kingdom of Diagonals" by Kenneth Slade Alling, and "The Reckless Spenders" by Walker Gibson, to be published in November—will show great variety of school, style, and theme.

Bloomington, Ind. SAMUEL YELLEN

On Waldo Frank

Dear Sirs: I was about to write a letter asking that readers of *The Nation* again hear from Waldo Frank, when I received the issue of September 25, 1954. His earlier article, The Anti-Communist Peril, breathed fresh and sane contrast to the prevailing climate of stale anti-Communist platitudes and hysteria. An American Tragedy, a statement expressive of the same healthy sanity, indicates a direction of thought that should be explored in greater detail and applied more widely if guidance is to be given to efforts to check current mass dementia.

San Francisco GEORGE N. TANNER

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Warning Came Early

In connection with Mr. del Vayo's discussion of German rearmament on page 356 of this issue, the following warning, written by a distinguished American for the North American Newspaper Alliance on the eve of the 1945 San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations, makes interesting reading:

> My fourth proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that agreement upon continued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations Charter or as a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question of peace.
>
> Three years ago Mr. Gibson [Hugh Gibson, American diplomat] and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed for an entire generation. We pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for the purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in tonnage and type of ships. We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the General Staff with its military skill, brains, and ambitions. It perpetuated their know-how to make war.
>
> Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declarations of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time. . . . We should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind [by these countries].

The writer was Herbert Hoover.

"Enslavement" and the Ex-Communist

The heresy hunt continues in the New York school system. Three associate professors at Hunter College, one of the municipal colleges, have been dismissed by the Board of Higher Education. The three admitted past membership in the Communist Party—two had left the party in 1941; the other in 1949—but refused to name colleagues who had been members. From the 111-page report of the trial committee the plain fact emerges that the three scholars, with unimpeachable professional standing and excellent teaching records in mathematics, music, and philosophy of upward of twenty-five years, were dismissed for refusing as a matter of conscience to become informers.

In an editorial of October 2 the *Herald Tribune* notes that "the role of the informer may strike many people as repugnant" but concludes that the "enslavement" of a teacher who refuses to "cooperate in exposure" is "still plain," and warrants dismissal. Heretofore it has been argued that alleged membership in the Communist Party or its "fronts" warranted official inquiry and possible dismissal; now, apparently, the ex-Communist is also "enslaved," unless he informs, and will receive the same harsh treatment. The relative indifference of the rest of the country to the heresy hunt in the New York schools continues to encourage the heresy-hunters to experiment with new punitive techniques which are then copied by other school systems. It is time that the academic community began to focus its undivided attention on the New York witch hunt.

Whose U. N. Is It?

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States representative at the U. N., achieved new dimensions of arrogance and crudity in his attack on Dr. Luther Evans, director of UNESCO, for failing to dismiss—without any sort of due process—eight American employees who had received adverse loyalty reports. Lodge's action was okayed by the State Department and so cannot be dismissed as a one-man outrage.

As Mr. del Vayo explained in *The Nation* of October 9, the Americans in question, employed in the Paris headquarters of UNESCO, refused to testify at loyalty-board hearings on the ground that their employment by an international agency could not be made subject to the loyalty procedures and orders of Washington. It is for this that they face dismissal. Dr. Evans, it should be said, has shown no sympathy with their stand. He has merely put off firing them until he thought he could do so legally. Four have already been notified that they will be dropped when their contracts expire at the end of December; the others, on indefinite tenure, can be dismissed only if the UNESCO meeting next month gives Dr. Evans the power he has demanded to terminate any contract at any time.

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But Mr. Lodge is not interested in Dr. Evans's legal scruples. What he wants is action. If the head of UNESCO fails to act, he is simply blocking the rapid completion of a purge which has been triumphantly accomplished in the U. N. headquarters staff. What does it matter to Mr. Lodge, or to the State Department, that the staff members in question have been sustained both by the U. N. Appeals Board and by the Administrative Tribunal in Geneva? The real boss of all the specialized agencies, and of the United Nations itself, so far as their American employees are concerned, sits in Washington, D. C.

If Dr. Evans were truly the international civil servant he is supposed to be, he would resign rather than put up with Washington's interference with his job and his office. Doubtless he will not resign. But we hope a general uproar of opposition from other delegations and agencies will check the American invasion led by Colonel Lodge. Otherwise the U. N. will be taken over whole, one day soon, and tucked away in some back corridor of the State Department where orders can be more easily given and more quickly carried out.

Without Shame

In "a highly unusual legal move" United States District Attorney Leo Rover, acting as we now know with the full knowledge and approval of Attorney General Brownell, has sought to disqualify Judge Luther W. Youngdahl from presiding at the trial of Owen Lattimore. Evidence of "bias" is found in Judge Youngdahl's action in dismissing four counts of the original indictment. By the same logic the Court of Appeals might also be accused of "bias" since it sustained, in an eight-to-one ruling, the dismissal of two counts but managed to stay in the department's good graces by ordering two of the dismissed counts reinstated, thereby maintaining an acceptable fifty-fifty ratio of favorable-unfavorable rulings.

Counsel for Lattimore have properly charged that Mr. Rover's suggestion is "scandalous"—a bald attempt to manipulate the administration of justice. It is that, but it is not unusual. The Department of Justice has consistently refused to observe acceptable canons of decency and fair play in its handling of political prosecutions. A few years back the department filed an affidavit of bias and prejudice against Judge Delbert Metzger when that courageous jurist refused to fix bail for the Hawaiian Smith Act defendants in amounts suggested by the prosecution (see *The Nation*, September 15, 1951, Judges or "Mere Instruments"?). The real scandal is that the department should still hesitate to dismiss a prosecution which would never have been initiated but for the outrageous pressure applied by the late Senator Pat McCarran as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. If the department had a case against Lattimore it

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would not resort to such shyster tactics as attempting to smear the good name and reputation of a fine federal judge. Perhaps on the morrow of the November 2 election Mr. Brownell will muster sufficient courage to restore public confidence in the department's handling of political cases by dismissing this scandalous prosecution. In the meantime he, and not Mr. Rover alone, should stand rebuked for this latest attempt to treat federal judges as though, in political cases, they were simply clerks acting on orders from the Department of Justice.

"What Kind of Country Is This?"

Two years ago this month the distinguished American poet Dr. William Carlos Williams was named Poet in Residence of the Library of Congress—an honor comparable to that of poet laureate and one which, incidentally, commands a stipend of $7,000 a year. But Dr. Williams has still not assumed his position. *Nation* readers can guess the explanation. Soon after the appointment was announced, the usual smearing charges were leveled against the poet, and the F. B. I., which is increasingly in the habit of sticking its institutional nose into everyone's affairs while claiming complete freedom from investigation or supervision itself, launched an investigation. Dr. Williams still does not know what this inquiry revealed, but one may suspect that some F. B. I. cipher clerk is still working on his poems. Interviewed by the Washington *Post,* Dr. Williams said: "I don't know a thing. What did they find? They never did give me any indication. I received a communication from the F. B. I. to be fingerprinted and replied to all sorts of preliminary inquiries. Then I wasn't even given the courtesy of a reply. For heaven's sake, what kind of country is this?"

In view of this incident, which is merely the latest in a long list of similar ones, we are completely at a loss to understand J. Edgar Hoover's recent statement—in the current issue of the Northwestern University *Law Review*—that to blemish a man's reputation "by unverified allegations of disloyalty is to do a grave injustice." Someone—but who would dare?—should ask Mr. Hoover for a statement on the Williams case.

Where Were the Experts?

A recent issue of the *Annals,* the house organ of the distinguished American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, is devoted to "America and a New Asia," comprising addresses made at the Academy's spring meeting. The subject demands the utmost in sober and objective analysis, but the two sections of the issue which deal with the "New Korea" and the "New China" display grave shortcomings in both particulars. The writers on Korea are an adviser to Syngman Rhee, Rhee's ambassador to the United States, and Arthur H. Dean; the China "experts" are Adolph A. Berle, Jr., Chiang Kai-shek's ambassador to the United States, and a junior American foreign-service officer. Not unsurprisingly the result is a faithful reproduction of the Seoul and Formosa outlook on foreign policy. Surely the Academy should produce something more substantial in the way of scholarship than this. What is more disturbing is the thought that our own policy toward Korea and China is being formed on the basis of such misleading material.

Why did American Orientalists not participate in the discussions? Was the Academy cowed by the Korea and China lobbies? Or have the lobbies succeeded in gagging the Orientalists? With the new turn of events in Asia, the Soviets have begun to admonish their Far Eastern experts to turn out more and better work, while we have been sacrificing ours to the witch-hunters. "Nothing," said Goethe, "is more terrible than ignorance in action." A grim thought—for the Academy and for the country.

The Wilson "Slip"

BY T. K. QUINN

GENERAL MOTORS' Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, has performed a service, albeit unconsciously, by emphasizing the latent attitude toward unemployment of many of our giant-corporation executives. When he remarked some months ago that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country," he was voicing his honest judgment. He is a sincere, hard-working man—and a victim of the ancient doctrine that the king can do no wrong. His latest comment in which he compared the unemployed to bird dogs and kennel-fed dogs, while undoubtedly not intended to be unkind, nevertheless came from deep within him and revealed an attitude not uncommon among his corporation colleagues. It is not that they are innately inhumane but that the very nature of their positions at the head of giant organizations, remote from the bread-and-butter struggle of their tens of thousands of employees, blinds them to the predicament of the common workman.

I am moved to write this by various news reports which tend to dismiss Mr. Wilson's latest statement as the error of a big industrialist who is not a politician. Such an attitude implies that how an official feels about a public issue is secondary; only his language matters.

The truth seems to be that few of our major industrialists understand the workings of the whole economy. They do not realize that in times of depression or recession the unemployed person cannot find work any-

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where unless he replaces someone else, thus leaving the over-all problem unaffected. The bird dog may indeed go "south" as Mr. Wilson suggested—or for that matter north, east, or west—without in the least subtracting from the unemployment rolls. I know from experience how rarely big industrialists concern themselves with the social implications of what they are doing. Mr. Wilson, who helped to form our dependent, corporate society, is in no position to complain of the inevitable results.

UNEMPLOYMENT is a demoralizing blight upon our country and must not be tolerated. To treat it lightly or as a mere statistical phenomenon is inexcusable. Yet how can Mr. Wilson, with his background, be expected to view workers as anything other than statistics? The line of authority in a giant corporation extends downward from the board and the president, through executive vice-presidents, to operating vice-presidents or division managers, thence to factory managers and superintendents, thence to foremen, and finally to the workers. How can the man at the top of this gigantic structure understand the problems of the countless men at the bottom?

The steady growth of such huge capital aggregations is crowding out the smaller, more creative, more humanly responsible companies and leaving less room for new enterprise. Yet Mr. Wilson no doubt honestly believes that "our free society depends upon the initiative of the millions and not on the dictatorship of the few." He appears quite unconscious of the economic dictatorship wielded by the small group of privately owned billion-aire corporations whose influence extends beyond their workers to thousands of small suppliers, distributors, and dealers, and beyond them to the mass-communication media of the country.

Mr. Wilson spoke of having worked in a shop when he was nineteen. He should have admitted that he has long since become detached from the problems which were close to him then. I cannot help feeling how much better he might have served society had he become the president not of General Motors but of some small independent company where he could have remained reasonably close to the workers. In that case he would not have carried into public office the cold detachment natural to the remote manipulator of the destinies of people whose problems he has long since forgotten.

VERSAILLES AND LONDON

The Deadly Parallel . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

THE measures adopted, and to be adopted, to keep German rearmament under effective control are a constant theme in commentaries on the London conference. They cropped up in the debate which preceded the French Parliament's vote of confidence in Mendès-France. They are referred to repeatedly in the praise heaped upon the conference by statesmen and politicians. The conference itself has been described by President Eisenhower as "one of the great diplomatic triumphs in history." Apparently no one doubts that the arms-control agency to be set up as part of the Brussels treaty organization will be able to keep the massive armament output of the Ruhr within the limits agreed on.

To anyone over forty years old—and the principal authors of the London agreement were grown men by 1918—such optimism is incredible. The story of Germany's secret rearmament in violation of the Versailles treaty, of the complete collapse of the Allied effort to halt the rebirth of German militarism, is a story not from history books but of our own generation. The very statesmen who today speak so glibly and confidently of "guaranties" and "controls" were only yesterday fulminating against the inadequacy of either to halt the growing German military menace. It is as if the whole period between the two world wars has been expunged from time. There can be only one explanation for this astounding amnesia: the current anti-Communist obsession, the hatred of Russia and the fear of Communist China, has proved stronger than memory or reason.

Last week *The Nation* alluded to the manner in which the restrictive clauses of the Versailles treaty—considered by their authors as efficient as those of the London agreement are considered today—were "respected" in actual practice. On this subject I have some personal testimony to offer. Between the two world wars I spent many years in Germany for *La Nación* of Buenos Aires. My chief interest was in uncovering the maneuvers through which the Germans made a mockery of the disarmament clauses of Versailles. My reports were so full that several large Argentine firms with close business ties to German industry threatened to withdraw their advertising from *La Nación* unless I was fired. The newspaper refused to bow to the threat, and the advertising was indeed withdrawn. The freedom of the press was in those days not nearly so frequent a subject for discussion as it is today, and there were no solemn debates on the subject in any U. N. Committee for Human Rights. Nevertheless, a newspaper which in no way pretended to be radical had the courage to stand by its principles at the expense of its profits.

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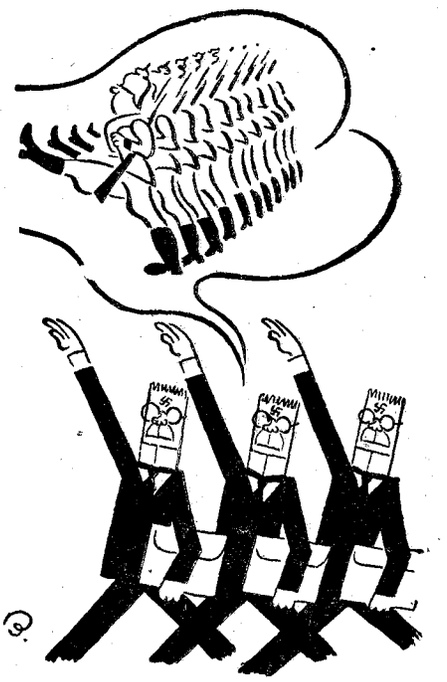
VERSAILLES allowed the German Republic an army of 100,000 men with limited armaments. The signatures to the treaty were hardly dry before this new *Reichswehr* became the dominant power in Germany, and the only one capable of restoring the country to Bismarckian eminence. In those agitated days of the twenties the attention of the press shifted from place to place, from personality to personality, as events followed each other with bewildering rapidity. For myself, nothing diverted my attention from the gray building in Berlin housing the General Staff of the *Reichswehr* under the leadership of its elegant, monocled chief, General von Seeckt. The General, too, refused to be diverted by events. He was unmoved by the spectacle of workers fighting in the streets; he knew that they were divided among themselves and had been deprived of the leadership which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, both murdered by reactionaries, might have given them. He was equally unmoved by General von Ludendorff's belated entry on the political scene, because he knew that Ludendorff's only followers were the volunteers of the *Kampfbund*. The exploits of the right-wing terrorist bands also left him cold, even though they were responsible for the assassination of Erzberger, the "peace negotiator," in 1921, and, a year later, of Walter Rathenau, Germany's most capable post-war Foreign Minister.

Von Seeckt knew that in the long run Germany's destiny rested in the General Staff and not in the streets. Perhaps recalling the Austrian dramatist Grillparzer's famous line about Marshal Radetzky, "In his camp is Austria," von Seeckt felt that the Germany of the twenties was in *his* camp, or at least in the divisions which he commanded. And this, too, has a lesson for us today. The greatest menace of post-Hitler Germany lies neither in the neo-Nazis nor in the secret military organizations which are the heirs not only of Hitler but of the terrorist bands of the Weimar Republic days. It lies in the future German General Staff, which—despite denials—is already in the process of formation, and whose activities the statesmen of London hope piously to contain by paper safeguards.

In the twenties similar safeguards were systematically eluded, even under the watchful eye of Poincaré of France, who did not hesitate to occupy the Ruhr. Von Seeckt looked to the future. The 100,000 men permitted him under Versailles served him as cadres; the system proved so elastic that Hitler had no difficulty putting together a trained army sufficient to resist the Allies, including Russia's massed forces, for five years. The important thing to von Seeckt was that Versailles gave him the embryo of an army, the numbers mattered little. One of his subordinates, General von Kuhl, wrote openly at the time that Germany needed only an "initial force" in order to reorganize itself very quickly into a powerful military nation, "Versailles or no Versailles." He added: "Let us have as many horses and trucks as we can get, since the smaller the army the more essential is its mobility." He reminded Germans that any army of 100,000, provided it included an efficient cavalry, "could in certain circumstances play an important role in the East." Today other von Kuhls are thinking of new German forces, no matter how small and how much under, supposed, international "control," also playing an important role in the East—more specifically, in the reconquest of territories now in the Soviet orbit.

HOW the French experts, so quickly disillusioned by Versailles, must be laughing now at their successors who put so much hope in London! The Germans reconstituted their General Staff as early as 1922. Its "secret" activities were not really secret. The German opposition press constantly reported how tank and aviation specialists were being trained by undercover "sports organizations" financed by the government. Experiments with "prohibited" arms were carried out with the cooperation of foreign branches of German industrial firms. (Today there will be no need for such camouflage; the new German General Staff will have a whole country—Franco's Spain—in which to produce arms "prohibited" by the new control agency.) Even the restrictions on manpower were evaded through the creation of all kinds of "police" forces ostensibly designed to protect the honest bourgeoisie of the cities against the dreaded Reds, but in reality as a means of building huge reserves of trained civilians for the army of the future.



During my Berlin days I witnessed French despair at the way things were going. Then as today Britain frowned upon French "intransigence" in demanding that Germany live up to its international obligations. This time the British will be supported by the Americans, to whom West Germany seems to be the only country, apart from the United States, worthy to take part in the "great crusade."

Anyone who doubts my memory on post-Versailles events can easily consult available copies of original documents, orders, minutes of meetings, memoranda, and diaries, all captured on German soil in the closing days of World War II, and most of them signed by one or more of the principal defendants at the Nürnberg trials. One such document comprises extracts from "The Fight of the Navy Against Versailles," published by the high command of the German navy in 1937 for "restricted" circulation only. I quote from the page of contents:

1. First defensive action against the execution of the Treaty of Versailles (from the end of the war to the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923); saving of coastal guns from destruction; limitation of demolitions in Helgoland Naval Base.

2. Independent armament measures taken behind the back of the Reich Cabinet and Legislature (1923-1927); building up of the air force; preparation for the resurrection of the German U-boat arm; economic rearmament. . . .

3. Planned armament works tolerated by the Reich Cabinet, but behind the back

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Frankfurter Rundschau

Return of the Prodigal Son

of the Legislature (1928 to the seizure of power [by Hitler]).

4. Rearmament under the leadership of the Reich Cabinet in camouflaged form (1933 to the overthrow of restrictions in 1935).

Quotations from many such documents can be found in Victor H. Bernstein's "Final Judgment—the Story of Nürnberg." A more academic analysis is furnished by the brilliant Ph. D. thesis of George Castellan, just published in France under the title "Secret Rearmament of the Reich from 1920 to 1935 as Seen by the Intelligence Division of the French General Staff."

NATURALLY, not everyone stands to lose by the rearmament of Germany, least of all the German heavy-industry and financial concerns which were so directly linked with the illegal rearmament of the country after Versailles. Last week M. S. Handler, writing in the New York *Times,* pointed out that the prospect of West German sovereignty has increased pressure in the Bonn republic for the reconcentration and recartelization of banking and the Ruhr industries. Nor will American business suffer. Eliot Janeway, economist and armaments expert, recently told a joint meeting of the Cleveland and Akron chapters of the American Marketing Association that German rearmament would drive the price of scrap steel "to within the range of the O. P. S. ceiling price of $42 a ton."

In human terms perhaps the saddest aspect of the developments of the last few weeks is the failure of the French Socialists to seize the historic opportunity afforded them by their political confrères in Germany. Instead of aiding the German Socialists and trade unionists in their fight for a democratic Germany, peacefully reunited and free from a General Staff and a *Reichswehr* certain to lead the world into another war, the French Socialists preferred to use their votes to rescue Chancellor Adenauer. The mounting German opposition to Adenauer's policy, led by the Socialists, would surely have brought about his downfall if he had not been crowned with victory at London.

I had almost forgotten: the new German army, according to an announcement from Bonn, will not be called the *Reichswehr,* as it was under the Weimar republic, nor yet the *Wehrmacht,* as it was under Hitler. It will be called the *Streitkräfte,* or "fighting forces," a name which in German has a less militaristic connotation than either of the others. But to the millions of people in Europe who do not know German, but only Germany, the German army is the German army under whatever name.

VOODOO PROSPERITY

How Long Can It Last? . . . *by T. Balogh*

HARDLY a day passes without some new and glowing projection of the United States' economic future being published. These projections take in all the main sectors of the vast American economy. They *look* scientific, being often accompanied by complicated mathematical symbols. They *are* scientific in the sense that they show the relations between consumption, investment, income, and savings.

When *Fortune,* for instance, asserts that in 1959 American consumers may be $57,000,000,000 richer than now but that the rate of saving will nevertheless not grow, the influence of the increase in income being offset by a greater urge to spend, and when it predicts that savings will still be balanced by equal investments, it makes good sense statistically. Yet projections of this kind are somehow too good to be true. They are based on assumptions which, for all the careful scanning of the past, seem to beg the basic question they purport to answer. And their proliferation shows the unease of people who perceive the immense economic and social potentialities of American expansion and at the same time fear the expansion may not mature. Predictions of the American economy's capacity to double national income every dozen years or so could have been made, quite justifiably, in 1929. The New Era had a right to be no less boastful under Hoover than under Eisenhower.

These projections play a vital psychological role. They are needed to give assurance to the managing élite and to justify them in dismissing setbacks in economic fortunes as temporary and in keeping their eyes firmly fixed on the long climb. Excelsior! In the same way neither the President's Economic Report nor the Midyear Statement should be taken at its face value. Reassurance on so high an authority enables investment to be continued, irrespective of the immediate outlook, without incurring censure.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and so far the American public need not be too discontented with the

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cooks. True, industrial production has declined some 9 per cent from the highest point reached in the spring of 1953. Unemployment has risen from 1,500,000 to an estimated 3,500,000—perhaps even higher, since in some communities entry into the labor force has been postponed on account of the obvious futility of looking for a job. The trend of growth which seemed miraculously accelerating has slowed. An immense potential increase of demand and production over 1952-53, estimated by Leon Keyserling at $27,000,000,000 and rising every day, has not materialized. However, none of the consequences which have long been taken as part and parcel of a fall in production and employment have been experienced. There has been no accelerating decline in demand.

APPARENTLY the reassurance to business has worked marvels. Expenditures on producers' durable equipment has dropped but so far only by 10 per cent, and it is still at a record level. There has been no panic cancelation of orders. Up to the end of 1953 the decline in national income could be attributed almost wholly to the sharp reduction of inventories. Frantic accumulation, it was stated, had given place to "de-stocking," with the expected result. But the "de-stocking," though appreciable, did not seem to be accelerating despite the fact that inventories of finished goods in the hands of manufacturers—a sensitive aspect of the whole inventory-picture—remained at the highest level, with a consequent sharp fall in new orders. Moreover, the steady contraction of inventories could not go on forever, and once it ended, demand and production would automatically rise. The United States would again have accomplished a "rolling readjustment" and the prophets of gloom and doom have been proved wrong.

Since the beginning of the year a net fall in government expenditure has no doubt contributed to the lowered national income, but this is being offset by a sharp cut in taxation—mainly for the benefit of corporations and investors—which in the view of the architects of the policy should stimulate investment and thus reinvigorate the economy. Nor is this all. While there has been an increase in idle plant, there has been practically no drop in prices, despite the tremendous strides made in rationalizing and cheapening production. There has been no attempt as yet to cut wages; indeed, wage rates, if not earnings, have risen. Nor is there any indication of a determined export drive, which was one of the most disturbing aspects of the prewar depression and even of the 1949 decline. Altogether, the picture presented, of an orderly slight retreat, is almost completely at variance with previous experience.

The only resemblance to the old pattern of American cyclical imbalance is seen in the sharp upward spurt taken by the Stock Exchange in spite of the marked fall in production and gross corporate profits, before taxes. The inference is clear. The existence of an Administration favorable to business, the confidence thereby engendered among business leaders, has sustained investment despite the rather inauspicious signs.

The question is how long this contradiction between a relatively static consumption and an ever-growing productive potential can be kept up. In recent years American productive capacity has been expanding some 5 per cent annually. In other words, the United States could, if there were sufficient demand, produce from fifteen to eighteen billion dollars' more of goods each year than the year before. Steel-ingot capacity, for example, has increased in the last four or five years by some 25,000,000 tons a year, or more than half the capacity of Britain. The output capacity of aluminum and chemicals has doubled since the end of the war.

It was, of course, this remarkable productive capacity which enabled the United States to belie all prophets of bankruptcy and inflation in the period of rearmament for the Korean war. Washington increased defense expenditure from $22,100,000,000 in 1949 to $54,300,000,000 in the first quarter of 1953 (in terms of 1953 prices), and productive fixed investment also expanded from $42,000,000,000 to $51,800,000,000. At the same time there was enough productive power in reserve to raise consumption from $205,000,000,000 to $230,000,00,000, or only a little less than Britain's total national consumption, at current rates of exchange. Rearmament, far from causing inflation and bankruptcy, merely used American productive capacity to the full. It reinvigorated the economy and enabled entrepreneurs to concentrate on solving production problems, a task in which they excel.

IF THE Administration had used the past few months of continued confidence to prepare a comprehensive program for maintaining prosperity, all would be well. This does not seem to have happened. The uneasy balance within the Administration has now tilted from those who are aware of the increasingly urgent problem of maintaining employment toward those who still believe that the government can help best by cutting expenditure and getting out of the way—and possibly by preventing inflation through making money dearer. Last year the second group almost succeeded in wrecking the economy. By inaugurating a policy of dear money and stringency they came near to demoralizing the capital market on which necessary continuation of construction activity depended. Only a return to the expansionism of the previous regime saved the situation. Once the decision was taken to reverse policy, the Federal Reserve acted with commendable promptness. The market

Walt Partymiller
in the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily*
"I feel a chill coming over me."

was flooded with money, and interest rates fell. Construction activity, especially housing, increased and took up most of the slack created by the cutbacks in investment in plant and equipment.

Theoretically, demand can be sustained by an expansion of investment due to new inventions, but the facts indicate that innovations will take no more than current depreciation allowances or, in any case, plowed-back profits. Thus there is no real hope in this direction.

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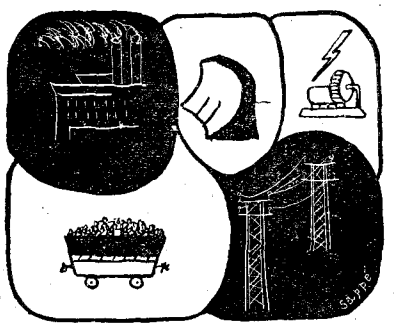
The need is the more urgent as the contemplated further cuts in government expenditure will undoubtedly have a strongly depressing influence. The tax remissions, as could have been expected, seem to have increased savings rather than demand, though the statistical evidence is not quite conclusive on this point. The rise in defense orders recently forecast could of course jerk the economy temporarily upward, but there is as yet little evidence that it will occur. The dominant conservative element in the Cabinet seems convinced that incantation and confidence will be sufficient to sustain the present position. Little has been heard of the program for low-cost



housing, highways, schools, and hospitals promised as a standby.

Commercial housing has undoubtedly received a welcome stimulus from the fall in interest rates, but here again the success of last year's monetary action ought to have been followed up. Mortgage rates are still above the level of 1950, though the conditions of credit have been relaxed through new types of guaranties. The present impetus to building can hardly last without further boosts. While the slow decline in interest rates—the classical remedy for stagnation—if applied betimes, while confidence holds, might support any sagging of activity, construction must play an increasingly important role in total economic activity in the United States. Easier money can act as a stimulus only if it comes before any real decline has taken place, indeed before investment plans have been revised downward, before confidence and the momentum of optimism have petered out.

The Administration, partly by its very nature and partly by its reassurances, has succeeded in maintaining confidence and securing the active collaboration of big business. Nevertheless, the certain if slow decline in investment plans which has begun to manifest itself should be viewed as a warning. It might be offset by construction and housing, or by a rebound in inventories caused by a slight speeding up of defense orders, but not for any length of time unless definite counter-measures are taken. Since money was made easier last year, policy seems to have veered round again, and interest rates have risen slightly above the low reached in July. Any improvement in business apparently strengthens the conservatives in the Administration and any deterioration the liberals, with the President pulled first one way and then the other.

There can be no doubt that a real downturn, say of 5 per cent or more, would once more bring a sharp reorientation of policy. But at that stage much more would be needed than cheap money or the toleration of a smallish deficit. Even Mr. Humphrey would be unable to persuade his friends to resume investment merely on his say-so. It is, moreover, quite unsafe to assume, as some Democrats do, that a deliberate increase in the budget deficit would cure a slump. A deficit might well evoke all those nameless fears which beset business men before the war. Any shock to confidence would have to be offset by further measures of expansion, and those measures would impair confidence still more. Reducing the taxes paid by the poor would have much the same psychological effect, even if the special favors granted by the present Administration to its rich backers—high tax-free rates of interest, greater deterioration and obsolescence allowances—were not revoked.

MUCH will therefore depend on the result of the elections. If the Republicans win control of both houses of Congress the danger will increase, for they will certainly be loath to go against the prejudices of business. Aggressive measures like increasing government spending in a period of shrinking revenues would offend the most cherished principles of a large section of the Administration and of Congress. In the end the politicians' instinct of survival would be victorious, but the fight would take time. Meanwhile the effect abroad of a further recession in the United States would be very different from that of the recent decline. Imports would probably fall, and greater pressure to export would be felt. Since a Republican Congress can be expected to increase expenditures for armaments more readily than for any other purpose, international tension would not be allowed to relax.

The picture would be different if the Democrats won both houses: aggressive relief measures might then be initiated without much ado, and the President would be hard put to veto them. In addition to cutting the taxes on the poor the Democrats would probably insist on greater expenditures on public works, especially highways and schools. Both actions would disturb confidence and thereby weaken their own effectiveness. Thus the Democrats eventually would be tempted to follow the Republicans in pressing for further rearmament. In any case they are being pushed in that direction by the Republican accusations of "softness" towards communism.

The American people face a real economic dilemma. The present policy of incantation and reliance on the "natural" resilience of the system is unlikely to succeed in the long run. Technical innovations which would utilize the immense productive power of the United States are not in the offing. While demand could be maintained by ultra-cheap money, the remission of taxation, public works, and foreign aid, none of these are really compatible with the nineteenth-century conventions still dominating business. Even the classical remedy of lower rates of interest on long-term investment seems to run up against the hostility of the banking world.

The potential productive capacity of the United States, if fully and well used, is sufficient to banish poverty in the not distant future. In this the long-range projections are quite right. It could also do much to help the economic development and the psychological integration of countries outside the Soviet orbit. Unfortunately, the competitive basis of this very productive capacity gives rise to feelings of aggressiveness coupled with acute fear, and it is fear about the working of the system which prevents the adoption of saner policies at home and abroad. The consequent sense of economic insecurity deepens the general distrust which at the moment contaminates America's relations with both its friends and its enemies. The vicious circle must be broken before the energies of Americans can be liberated for constructive opposition to the Communist challenge.

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SHALL THE MEEK INHERIT?

Douglas Faces a Fight . . . *by Elmer Gertz*

Chicago

DESPITE any existing Democratic trend, Paul H. Douglas, senior Senator from Illinois, will be hard put to defeat the Republican candidate, Joseph T. Meek. It is true that no word about Meek appears in the national "Who's Who" or in any of the A. N. Marquis compilations of locally distinguished persons. And in those parts of the country where he is known at all, he is written off as a lobbyist whose social orientation is far to the right of the late Senator Taft. But Joe Meek is a shrewd, persistent, and highly personable campaigner who finds it difficult to conceive of defeat. His formula resembles that by which Dirksen defeated Scott W. Lucas, Senate majority leader, a few years ago. Emulating Dirksen, Meek, a big, tortoise-like man, starts for his goal and reaches it while most men are asleep. Douglas is not minimizing the chances of his tireless and resourceful opponent who in the Republican primaries last spring turned into a rout his defeat of some good men —like the Eisenhower leader, Austin L. Wyman—and some bad ones in a field overrun with more entries than Illinois had ever seen before. The field was so large because Republicans thought they had Douglas's scalp in the bag.

Privately some of Meek's primary opponents wish him ill, but almost all of them, including the once aloof Citizens for Eisenhower, are doing chores for him in a desperate desire to add another Republican seat to the endangered majority. Vice-President Nixon has phrased the issue pithily: Meek may be a conservative, but he can be counted on to back the Administration in the pinches —that is, in the organization of the Senate and in purely partisan matters.

Douglas's campaign manager once referred to Meek as a "little lobbyist." Thereupon Meek, who knows he is not "little" though he talks about being the spokesman of the "little corner retailer" —Chicago's State Street stores, for example—called Douglas "a high-pressure lobbyist for the overthrow of capitalism," "a member of the Socialist group in Chicago known in the late thirties as the People's Lobby," which, according to Meek, advocated government ownership of natural resources, power, the steel industry, mines, railroads, and utilities. Meek is a true supporter of Eisenhower only in his approval of the "giveaway" of the public domain.

Seldom has the reactionary Chicago *Tribune* supported a candidate more wholeheartedly than it does Meek, and almost never has a man better deserved that support. Basically Meek stands for everything that is holy to the sanctimonious Colonel McCormick. He is Midwestern and American in a fierce and narrow sense: that is, he fears and distrusts Easterners and all such foreigners. He hates all taxes and all regulations which inconvenience the business community. He has no love for trade unions, college professors, intellectuals in general, or idealists of any stripe. He has McCarthy's own attitude toward Communists—that they should be beaten with any stick—and he includes among the Reds some persons whom reasonable men would call mildly liberal and anti-Communist. One of the few Republican candidates who invited McCarthy to speak in their behalf, he was saved by McCarthy's convenient sinus trouble. He can play ball with men of both parties if they have his kind of social astigmatism. When an election is to be won he can be an Eisenhower man, though he would have voted against almost every measure the President has supported in the current Congress. During the war he was against price and rent controls, rationing, and the other safeguards required to keep our economy going. In two sessions of the Illinois legislature he defeated F. E. P. C. almost singlehanded. In fact, he is the principal reason why Illinois has not been a leader in social legislation in recent years.

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

Blessings on thee little Meek,
Barefoot boy with lots of cheek.

WHY, then, should he have a good chance to defeat Douglas, who is certainly one of the outstanding men in the Senate? Last summer I witnessed a sort of symbolical display of Meek's innate strength. Stupidly forgetting that Douglas's left arm was badly shattered by a mortar burst on Okinawa during the war, I proposed to him and Meek that they play a few holes of golf for the Eisenhower Senatorial cup. Meek replied in language that I quote because it is so characteristic of him: "It would be fun to play Paul a few holes—for golf or just comradeship. But I'm afraid he'd win." Thereupon Douglas reminded me that "in the United States Senate, members are frequently permitted to exercise a proxy through a fellow-member when they are unable themselves to participate in decisions" and proposed that Chick Evans, Chicago's outstanding amateur golfer, represent him. Meek good-naturedly acquiesced, making almost his last gesture of courtesy in the campaign.

Still talking modestly and with an air of great friendliness, Meek met the champion at Chicago's Chevy Chase. His

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stocky, almost ungainly figure contrasted sharply with Evans's athletic frame, but he drove the ball as if he were himself a champion. His putts were still better, even while he continued to deprecate them. It was with difficulty that Douglas's proxy won. There was no gloating by Meek after this fine showing, just as there was none when he mopped up the opposition in the Republican primaries.

Meek's system is to please everyone in sight. His is not the usual kind of campaigning; it is more like the efforts of a first-class salesman, a born lobbyist, trying to charm prospective contacts. "Paul and I are worlds apart in our social viewpoint," he confided to me ingratiatingly, "but I cannot dislike him."

Supporting Meek are most of the anti-intellectuals of the state, including many with college diplomas: They do not want in the Senate a cerebral man like Douglas who has attended Columbia and Harvard, taught at the University of Illinois and at Amherst and, worst of all, at the University of Chicago, and written tomes on real wages, industrial education, and unemployment insurance. Mine-run politicians sneer at "perfessers." They don't understand how it happened that they got not only the egghead, Adlai E. Stevenson, but Douglas as well. "Is he a Democrat?" they often ask. "Then why did he oppose President Truman's nominees for federal judgeships?"

Not only the spoils politicians but others who should be in Douglas's camp are disgruntled. Some feel that this Quaker has become militaristic in outlook and even a warmonger, or that he has joined in the witch-hunt and is too prone to find Reds under the bed. Others feel that he has spoken too softly about McCarthy. Supporters of Stevenson for President resented Douglas's luke-warm approval of him, but mutual friends have worked hard to bridge the gap between the two men and now Stevenson is giving effective aid to Douglas. He must know that if Meek should defeat Douglas overwhelmingly, his own chances for another try at the Presidency would be slim.

What Douglas's liberal critics chiefly dislike is his determination to be objective about all things. In the true spirit of research, he cautiously weighs the evidence. When the liberals are for a complete program of national health insurance, he sees the evils of bureaucracy and tries to evolve a scheme for protection against only catastrophic illnesses. When they are against Taft-Hartley, root and branch, he sees the danger of uncontrolled racketeering and jurisdictional strife. He asks his union friends embarrassing questions. He speaks up for F. E. P. C. and civil rights, but at the same time seeks to placate the Southern diehards. Despite occasional emotional outbursts, Douglas has the temperament of a statesman—a reconciler—and in a world of extremists it makes him an unpopular man.

The extremists of the right are with Meek in this campaign, and one still cannot be sure that they won't prevail. Illinois is one of the big question marks in the coming elections. What happens here may foretell the climate the President will encounter two years hence.

FACTS FORUM FABLE

A Congressman's Exposé . . . *by Wayne L. Hays*

FACTS FORUM broadcasts programs of the public-discussion type over more than one hundred radio and several score TV stations. It claims to present both sides of important issues, but actually it is in no sense impartial. If two sides are presented, there is no doubt which side Facts Forum is on. The technique is to identify one point of view with the entire philosophy of government to which Facts Forum adheres. Half-truths, distortions, generalizations, and exaggerations are used. One program dealing with the Bricker amendment even misquoted the Constitution. It stated that Article VI reads: "All treaties . . . shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding"; whereas the actual language of the article is "anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

In a program called "The American Bill of Rights and Thanksgiving" the Facts Forum philosophy was frankly stated:

> Today, all over the globe people are promoting a philosophy of government which they like to call liberal and progressive but which in its essence is a return to the dark ages of human civilization. . . . It is a philosophy which holds that government has the power and the responsibility to do something for the people; that the force of government must be used to control all the lives of all the people all the time, in order to insure them economic security. It is a philosophy which has been promoting in this century throughout the world an implacable drive toward a monolithic uniformity, a leveling off of mankind to a dull level of mediocrity, a drift toward a great one-world of animated puppets where everyone will have his equal share of a little bit of nothing. . . . Countless numbers of Americans today apparently, by what they say and do, are not only willing but eager to sell their birthright of freedom for the mess of pottage which goes under the label of government subsidies and economic assistance to the public.

An otherwise neutral Christmas program last year ("Hope of the World") declared in the context of an appeal for religious faith: "I do not look to government for rights, privileges, or assistance, knowing that government can give me nothing that government has not first taken away from me."

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There is a close identity between the message of Facts Forum and the personal opinions of H. L. Hunt, who, in the words of Facts Forum moderator Dan Smoot, "was among the original founders of Facts Forum and is its heaviest financial contributor." In a pamphlet written in 1950—quoted in an interview in the Washington *Post,* February 16, 1954—Hunt said, "The public is entitled to the facts on both sides of all issues and cannot be pacified with the . . . kind of news which left-wing workers are willing to let them have." Hunt's ideas of how to present "the facts on both sides" without including "left-wing" views are apparently carefully followed in Facts Forum programs. According to the same interview, Hunt identifies "liberals" and "progressives" with "vicious, radical, spendthrift elements" and with "alleged people's parties ruled by ruthless and murderous dictators who say they are also liberals."

BY USING factual material in presenting the side to which it is opposed Facts Forum can claim that it is completely fair and unbiased. This may be compared to the procedure of a lynch mob which rushes its victim to the nearest tree, loops a noose around his neck, gives him two minutes to speak in his own defense, and then strings him up. Under those conditions, a bystander is not likely to be in the mood to believe him. Moreover, the facts presented on the side to which Facts Forum is opposed are carefully selected. Many of them are really neutral, deliberately chosen for their lack of persuasiveness. Some actually damage the case in behalf of which they are ostensibly introduced.

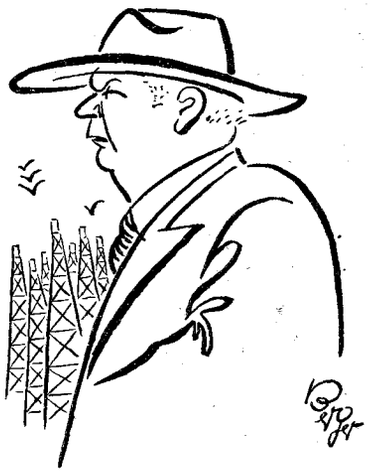
The world of Facts Forum is a world where wishy-washy liberals—and some Democrats and Republicans, at best naive and woolley-headed, at worst conscious traitors—are contrasted with red-blooded Americans upholding the principles of the Constitution to save America from communism, and in the process becoming advocates of isolationism and McCarthyism, enemies of the United Nations, foreign aid, and labor. For example, in one program the affirmative side held that an adequate national defense could be secured together with tax reductions and a balanced budget. The negative said an adequate defense was impossible without higher taxes. The prejudice was disclosed when the affirmative was linked with isolationism and Herbert Hoover's theory of hemisphere defense. The possibility that adequate defense might be secured without isolationism and without increasing taxes, simply by cutting fat from the defense budget, was not admitted.

In a following program the affirmative said the United States should remain in the U. N. even if Red China were admitted. The negative became a general argument against the U. N. The middle position—opposing Red China's entry into the U. N. but supporting the U. N. —was ignored.

Other examples can be cited: The affirmative said that the Democrats won a great victory in the 1953 elections, referring to the Wisconsin and New Jersey Congressional votes and the New Jersey gubernatorial race. The negative denied it but also denounced "New Deal Republicans" for aping the Democratic foreign policy, being soft on communism, and attacking McCarthy. It did not mention the moderate Republicanism which opposes the Democratic line, is not isolationist, and is against McCarthy. Disapproval of the Eisenhower foreign policy was linked with isolationism. Nothing was said about opposition to Eisenhower's foreign policy for other reasons than isolationism.

In one program the affirmative favored using picketing as a weapon in strikes, while the negative did not. But the negative also opposed unions in general. This eliminated the possibility of wanting to limit picketing while favoring unions. In another, one side favored Eisenhower's housing program; the other said housing and other government aids were "socialistic" and "communistic." It was supposed to show us that those who favor government aid in housing and other fields, whether they are for or against Eisenhower's policy specifically, are dupes of the Communists.

The views opposed by Facts Forum are often so oversold as to raise doubt of their validity. For example, in a discussion of defense we were told: "The fate of the free world depends on active, all-out cooperation, on unlimited effort . . . no expenditure is too large, no effort too great . . . we must be ready to accept these burdens . . . no matter what the cost may be." Such a presentation could well frighten a person who had believed that making some sacrifice was necessary but who would reconsider his position if "sacrifices and expenditures" had to be "unlimited" and "all-out."



H. L. Hunt

At another time the anti-isolationist side said: "The announced motive of isolationism—politely called neutrality —is to prevent America from becoming involved in any future foreign wars." Facts Forum answered this argument rather weakly; and, indeed, isolationism doesn't look so bad when defined as the avoidance of war. The implication was that internationalism wants to get us into war. On the same program our system of alliances was oversold. "More than 1,500,000,000 people in the world . . . are . . . willing to stand and die with us against our common enemy." A true presentation of the internationalist position would admit differences between us and our allies.

A STRIKING characteristic of the programs is the deliberate and constant repetition of language discrediting liberals and lumping them with Socialists, Communists, and totalitarians. We have heard about "Adlai Stevenson, Dean Acheson, and their friends in the Socialist wing of the Democratic Party..."; "the Roosevelt-Truman New-Fair Deal [with] all the characteristics of the totalitarian movements . . ."; "totalitarian liberals and left-wingers"; "twenty years of New Deal socialism . . . it will matter little whether we call the final result progressive capitalism, social democracy, economic planning, New Dealism, or just

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plain communism." And again: "In the late 1930's . . . we were caught in a strong tidal drift toward the philosophy of a Socialist labor government"; "the me-too tactics of liberal Republicans—promising to do everything the New Deal had done only better"; "if the only choice at the polls is between New Deal Republicans and New Deal Democrats, voting is meaningless"; "during the past eight years . . . fundamental decisions in American policy have been made by traitors or by men under the influence of traitors whose allegiance lay in Moscow"; "during the New and Fair Deals, the Socialist revolution made enormous advances in America."

The anti-Facts Forum side is often very inadequately presented: "Government business corporations, although operating as efficiently and economically as possible, are dedicated primarily not to making a profit but to serving the people." This is true. But a sincere partisan of that position would have mentioned that some government corporations have made profits and turned them back into the Treasury—like F. D. I. C., F. H. A., and H. O. L. C. Without this, there is the implication that government corporations always lose money. The same program said, rightly enough, that government-owned businesses pay no taxes. But since there is a great deal of discussion of T. V. A. on the programs, mention might have been made of the fact that because of T. V. A. private corporations do more business than they would otherwise do, make larger profits, and thus pay higher taxes.

In a discussion of Taft-Hartley about half the pro-labor time was wasted on a boring recital of the content of the disputed nineteen amendments. One heard such statements as "The definition of the word 'supervisor' in the original act should be limited"; or "The holding of a representation election should be delayed for a period of four months after the commencement of a strike." The argument for the employers, however, contained such colorful and emotion-packed phrases as "irresponsible power in the hands of monopolistic labor bosses"; "government was in the hands of those who had allied themselves with the labor bosses"; "President Eisenhower's labor advisers appear dedicated to the old New Deal philosophy that the political support of powerful union leaders must be bought at any cost."

The programs often make vital issues of questions which are not really current but which provide a chance to attack something that Facts Forum is against. Union picketing in strikes, for instance, is not much of an issue at the present time. The idea, apparently, was to question a principle accepted to a large degree and to take another whack at unions. Similarly a program dealing with the International Labor Organization provided an opportunity to attack "totalitarian liberals" and "socialism" in the United Nations.

THE technique of the "smear" is widely used: "One of the most powerful Communist fronts is the Methodist Federation for Social Action. . . . This Communist Front's credo—rejecting the profit motive as an economic base for society—is closely similar to a resolution passed by the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1947, rejecting the ideologies of both communism and capitalism, and also very similar to a statement along the same line issued in late 1950 by His Holiness Pope Pius XII."

The reaction of a high government official to Facts Forum's supposed "impartiality" was revealed in the New York *Herald Tribune's* regular Sunday column devoted to "inside Washington" news (August 15): "Unlike most members of the Cabinet, Secretary Dulles has refused to appear on television shows sponsored by Facts Forum, the program supported by H. L. Hunt, Texas oilman . . . he is not satisfied the program is either non-partisan or non-political." An excellent reason why Mr. Dulles should feel this way was provided by the program of July 3 last, discussing the Jenner-McCarran resolution to break off diplomatic relations with Communist nations. The following excerpts illustrate how Facts Forum can claim to be impartial and yet be guilty of the grossest partiality:

> Same day, May 13, 1954, while Republican Senator Jenner was standing on the floor of the Senate introducing his resolution to break off diplomatic relations with the Soviets and their captive satellites, Republican Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was at Geneva, Switzerland, in formal conference with the Soviets and one of their captive satellites. . . .
>
> It may or may not have embarrassed Republican Secretary of State Dulles to have Republican Senator Jenner introduce such a resolution. Be that as it may, Senators Jenner and McCarran posed for the American people a question of immense and far-reaching importance: Should America break off diplomatic relations with all Communist countries?
>
> Facts Forum believes that a question of such great significance to the American people should be answered *by* the American people. Nowhere is an informed public opinion more critically needed than in the area of Soviet-American relations. Here is a problem that both underlies and overrides every other national problem we have. If we could find a correct and positive answer to the question of what to do about American-Soviet relations, we would thereby make an enormous contribution to the peace, security, and well-being of our nation. Here then is an excellent answer to those millions of sincere Americans who frequently and, it must be confessed, honestly say to themselves, "I know things are in bad shape, but what can I do? I'm just one little individual with no influence or authority, not too much information, not sure of my own convictions, and with rather poor ability to express the ideas and communicate the information I have. If the greatest people in our land are confused and divided about the terrible problems of our times, what on earth can I do about it?"

Notice how subtly these ideas have been phrased. Nowhere can you put your finger on the words which say specifically that Facts Forum questions the value of the Geneva conference and supports the Jenner move to break off relations with the Soviets. Yet that is the impression with which we are left. Remember, too, that these words are not read, so that they can be studied at leisure. They are listened to. They are heard fleetingly. What independent conclusion can a listener reach when these successive ideas are flung at his eardrums: "Secretary . . . Dulles . . . in formal conference with the Soviets . . ."; "it may or may not have embarrassed . . . Dulles . . ."; "Senator Jenner and McCarran posed a question of immense and far-reaching importance, should America break off relations with Communist countries?"; "if we should find a correct and positive answer to the question of what to do about American-Soviet relations . . ."; "here then is an excellent answer. . . ."

It is time the American people, like Mr. Dulles, recognized the spuriousness of Facts Forum's claim to impartiality.

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BOOKS

The American Writer, II

BY JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

MEANWHILE, in the literary market place, a parallel situation was beginning to emerge. The publishing boom which had been steadily gaining momentum through the five years following the war had reached proportions by 1950 so fantastically beyond the power of any human agency to imagine or control that one supposed the manufacture of books to have been taken over in the night by some monstrous, self-operating, perpetual-motion machine diabolically bent on conquering the world by smothering its inhabitants beneath tons of print. One was encouraged in this impression by the spectacle of the publishers themselves, many of whom appeared to have been stupefied by secret injections and brain-washings and to have been converted into the captive host-creatures of an autotelic business enterprise whose original purposes had been lost in antiquity and whose sole remaining function was simply to keep on endlessly and pointlessly running.

It seemed suddenly that all the old categories and relationships which had formerly guided and comforted one in one's thinking about the production of books had gone into the discard or had, like so many of one's old assumptions, simply ceased after the war to correspond to reality—if, indeed, there can be said to have been a reality after the war. It scarcely mattered, for example, that books had at one time been the results of the painful and loving efforts of intelligent men to communicate something which they conceived to be worth while, that they had been meant to *say* something, and by their saying to satisfy a very real and existing human need. Books now were simply disposable items containing a two- or three-hour supply of psychic maintenance; when they were used up, they could be thrown away like Kleenex. There was no longer any question of their satisfying a need, nor was it necessary any longer that they should. For a public accustomed from childhood to buying at the dictates of every passing acquisitive reflex, it was enough that books were offered on the market for sale, that they were simply *there* to be bought. They would undoubtedly still have been bought in large numbers if they had been nothing but bundles of blank paper sewn into gaudy covers.

In the midst of all this the writers of the younger group who had begun their careers during the first phase of the boom were caught up in conditions so radically different from those which prevailed at that time that it is no wonder many of them lost their bearings and, in some cases, after remarkable initial successes lapsed into silence or mediocrity. The rise of mass publishing had effectively brought to an end the period of innovation and discovery into which they emerged, and where they had formerly been made to feel special and chosen by virtue of being young writers on whom the accolade of posterity was about to be bestowed, they now found themselves regarded simply as slightly older members of a transient, anonymous body of writers all of whom seemed equally young, equally talented, and equally forgettable. Not only had the traditional public image of the writer as a figure of glamour apparently faded along with the decline of interest in books, but there had grown up a widespread indifference to the fact of talent itself, and a feeling that fiction of whatever quality somehow no longer communicated any vision of reality which it was possible to respond to or recognize as true. Although novels of distinction were still being written, one could scarcely imagine a way in which they might have been received with even approximately the kind of immediate shock of recognition that accompanied the appearance of novels like "The Great Gatsby" and "The Sun Also Rises," nor did there seem any possibility of their being preserved in the public consciousness long enough to be revived in ten or twenty years and accorded a similar place in the hierarchy of modern classical literature. The truth now was statistical and political; it yielded to the forces of tabulation and analysis, the devices of the survey, the corporate report, the personal interview, and the house-to-house poll, rather than to imaginative synthesis. The works of Dr. Kinsey, C. Wright Mills, David Riesman, Susanne K. Langer, and other socio-philosophical thinkers were the substitutes for major fiction in the fifties and made use of insights into contemporary culture which would undoubtedly in any other time have found their most natural expression in the novel form.

THERE was, furthermore, a sense in which it could be said that publishing had by now evolved to the point where its business interests were no longer best served by the novelist of quality but by the second- or third-rate writer who could be counted on to turn out in large volume and at fast pace a kind of pseudo-fiction, a species of high-grade, extremely serious hack writing, which contained all the ingredients of the real thing but in diluted or homogenized form, so that it could be fed over and over again to readers without ever bringing them to the stage of satisfaction where they would cease to buy. Many of the first novels by the younger writers who were discovered in the early fifties belonged to this category—including a few which were singled out for special praise by critics on the ground of their "sincerity"—and that was perhaps one of the reasons for the falling off of interest in the younger literary generation as such. But as more and more novels of all kinds were published, each tended anyway, regardless of its quality, to be reduced in value to the level of all the others and treated in the same anonymous manner. And as the promotional agencies of publishing became increasingly petrified in their attitudes of soaring high encomium and the reviewing profession increasingly drugged on the volume of novels flooding into the mar-

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JOHN W. ALDRIDGE is the author of "After the Lost Generation" and the editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." He delivered the final series of Christian Gauss Lectures in Criticism at Princeton University. Part I of this article was printed last week.

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ket, there finally remained no method of distinguishing good from bad or of separating out the work most likely to be of more than passing interest.

In previous literary decades such as the twenties it had been possible—although one no longer knew quite how—for the novelist sooner or later to achieve a continuity of reputation and public success at least equal to the stamina and value of his work. One thought of the young Hemingway and the young Fitzgerald and of the inevitability of the process by which they rose, through regular stages of gradual growth and single successes, as well as instructive failures, to the positions of fame in which they finally became secure. But one also thought of those small centers of enthusiastic opinion—the magazines like the *Dial, Bookman, Hound and Horn,* the old *Saturday Review* and *New Republic,* and the columns and articles of men like Edmund Wilson, John Peale Bishop, Van Wyck Brooks, Stuart P. Sherman, and Burton Rascoe—where their names and books were not allowed to be forgotten, and of that initially small but receptive reading public which fancied that these writers were speaking to them and which in turn spoke back to them. One thought, in short, of the existence of certain sanctuaries where the memory of talent was preserved during the fallow time between the actual appearance of books. But now, in a time which seemed suddenly to have gone rotten with literature, the young writer of promise found himself in a situation in which he felt compelled perpetually to remake his public bed with each new work, until finally, in far too many cases, he became exhausted and was overcome with a desire just to lie down on the floor and go to sleep. With the appearance of each new book he was hustled forward to stand naked for a moment in the public gaze. He was extravagantly promoted and meanly or indifferently reviewed. For perhaps three weeks he was granted a sort of low-grade, meretricious notoriety. But as soon as the reviews stopped coming in, he began to feel neglected, and in another month or so could consider himself lucky if an occasional literate reader remembered having seen his name.

Whatever his new book may have been, it stood small chance of being admitted to membership in a growing body of selected work which represented the accumulated literary achievement of his time. After the popular reviews had appeared, he did not, if he was typical, see his book discussed at length in the serious quarterlies, compared with the work of his contemporaries, or assigned a place in the larger critical order. There was no Ezra Pound or Ford Madox Ford to write him letters of encouragement and advice; he had little or no sense that what he had had to say had found an audience among those of his own age who had shared in his own experience. The chances were that he was not even acquainted with other young writers to whom he might have turned at least for the comfort of a mutual obscurity. In a few months he was likely to be driven to conclude that his only hope for literary salvation lay in the quick production of another book, and then another and another and another, through which he might possibly gain by siege what he could not gain by honest stealth. But as the books came from him at increasingly shorter intervals, with each one perhaps bearing the increasingly unmistakable marks of technical haste and imaginative strain, he found himself going through the same old process, only now there were mounting reasons why he should slip backward two steps for every step forward he managed to take. In the end, he was likely to have discovered that in trying to build the public personality which his urge toward status demanded, he had drawn irrecoverably upon the creative capital which had been its sole justification and had succeeded only in cutting status from under his feet.

ONE has heard it argued—most recently with that hysteria of conviction which renders all conviction suspect—that the tremendous expansion of the paper-reprint industry during the boom years and the rise within the same medium of the mass-circulation literary review have done much to reduce, if not altogether to solve, the problems now confronting the serious writer. The large-scale manufacture of inexpensive reprints is said to have brought about in America a changed cultural situation in which the writer has been placed for the first time in contact with vast sectors of the average reading audience from which he had been formerly cut off; while the mass-circulation review has allegedly made it possible for him, again for the first time, to reach that audience with work of a new or an experimental kind which has hitherto been supposed unpalatable to it and, therefore, suited only to small quarterly publication. It has been generally maintained that as a result of these developments the writer is now assured not only of the widest and most profitable market for his books but also of the chance to function up to his fullest capacity within that market without having to compromise his standards of artistic honesty and taste.

It is difficult to quarrel with these claims. One would prefer simply to accept them in toto as valid, for then one would be satisfied that the revolution for which, in one way or another, we have all so long been fighting had at last actually been won, and there would be nothing left to do but bury the ammunition, clear away the barricades, and settle down to work for the new coalition—as, in fact, many of our former colleagues of the underground have already been persuaded to do. But one is unfortunately still compelled to make distinctions, especially now in the face of a phenomenon which because of its enormous potentiality for good and the vastness of its implications for the future of our literature must always tend to appear to us in the shape of our wildest chimeras and to bedazzle us at every turn with the mirage of oasis. While it can hardly be denied that the rise to power of the reprint industry has profoundly altered the traditional relations between the writer and the mass audience as well as between the mass audience and the work of merit, it has yet to be proved that the lot of the writer has thereby, in a host of important respects, been appreciably bettered. There is much evidence for supposing, rather, that a number of partial and quasi satisfactions, backed by almost unbelievable financial returns, have been substituted for the real satisfactions which the writer has always needed to get from the circulation of his work but which appear to be farther from him now than ever before.

The abstract idea of mass audience has, for example, been allowed subtly to crowd out, by seeming to satisfy, the writer's constant need for a public. He has been handed sheaves of statistics in-

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dicating that the reprint sales of his books in the drugstores and on the newsstands have gone into the thousands or millions, and he has complacently concluded that such figures represent the true magnitude of his readership and popularity. But what he does not know and cannot know, so long as the reprint system continues to operate on its present basis, is who his readers are and why they buy his books—whether they buy them because they are his or only because they just happened, while foraging among the racks, to come into titillating collision with their covers. By the same token, he does not know whether, if he publishes a reprint edition of another of his books, it will be bought by the same people who bought his last or will have to make its way with an entirely new set of readers.

And even if he is lucky enough to acquire readers specifically his own, the chances are that he will still come out the loser, for under the present distribution system, in which the wholesaler supplies his retail outlets in lot form rather than on the basis of individual orders for particular books, there is no way for readers to make their wants known or even to be certain that the works of their favorite author will ever again be available at a given outlet. The writer is thus placed in the most paradoxical of situations. Through the reprint market he gains access to an immense potential audience but never to an effective, articulate public. If his sales are at all typical, he achieves through that market the financial status of the established, successful writer but not the reputation, or the means of reputation, by which such status must be accompanied if it is ever to be real. He consequently finds himself with all his relations with his medium impoverished to the point where the only sense he has of his literary existence is that abstractly provided him by his sales reports and royalty checks.

THE fallacy underlying the belief in the importance to the writer of an audience of sheer size is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the new mass-circulation reviews which have taken over the fallacy and inflated it into a first principle of editorial doctrine. Both *New World Writing* and *Discovery*—the two contenders in the field at the moment—have been represented by their sponsors as guaranteeing the writer all the freedoms that were available to him in the "little" magazines of the past along with the advantage of incomparably wider readership, hence, incomparably wider opportunities for acquiring reputation. Within the terms of the quantitative fallacy these claims are of course entirely valid; but once again one is compelled to make distinctions. The "little" magazines of the twenties and thirties came into being in response to the rise of a literary movement which was too revolutionary to win support in the existing commercial periodicals. Their audiences were always small, but they were vociferous and vocal, and they constituted the only kind of readership the serious writer ever really needs, a readership of peers and informed disciples through whom reputations can be initiated and preserved until such time as they are confirmed by the public at large.

New World Writing and *Discovery*, by rescuing the writer from what is conceived to be the obscurity of the small coterie public, have abandoned him to the infinitely more impenetrable and permanent obscurity of the mass audience, where his influence is spread thin among thousands of inattentive minds and where his name is lost in the limbo of plenty. They have also placed him in circumstances which appear to have no purpose or objective, for it is characteristic of these reviews—as it is of so many of the products of our present drive to inflate still further by synthetic means the already bloated ego of literature—that they have no real cause to serve and no discernible demand to satisfy. They have grown up in response to no movement, and there is scarcely more than an academic sense in which it can be argued that they provide an outlet for work which would not have been acceptable—unless perhaps on grounds of quality—for publication elsewhere. They seem simply to have evolved out of a feeling that something approximating the "little" magazine probably ought to exist in our time and, by existing, might very well stimulate a movement or a fresh creative impulse to which it could then, albeit somewhat contrivedly, become a response. Such strained and self-conscious efforts to foment controversy as those recently made

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in *Discovery* by its editor, Mr. Vance Bourjaily, would lead one to believe this to be the case. But unfortunately, in choosing to make their way with the mass audience rather than with the coterie, these reviews have moved beyond the protection and support which the coterie alone can afford them and are brought up against a situation in which controversy can have no meaning or pertinence and in which new literature, like all literature, is simply used and discarded, without apparent motive or effect.

It would be inaccurate to say that these conditions present themselves to the writer in the shape of a dilemma. That, in fact, precisely *is* his dilemma: that he does not and cannot know that he is in one. All the evils of his situation come to him wearing Yeats's mask of innocent virtue, and he has been so long accustomed to taking his satisfaction where he could find it—in the appearance of acclaim, the illusion of audience, the hypocrisy of status—that his need for the satisfaction to be gained from the real thing has atrophied and disappeared. In an earlier time one might have conceived this to be finally a question of integrity. But integrity implies the existence of a standard to be maintained, and its loss the existence of a temptation to which it can be sold. The irony and terror of the writer's dilemma today are that the question of his integrity can no longer be raised. In the name of what can he hold out? To which temptation does he have anything left to sell?

Books in Brief

To Win Without Fighting

STRATEGY. The Indirect Approach. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Praeger. $5.95.

Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, the British military analyst, offers in his newest work a summary of what can be and has been achieved throughout history by the "indirect approach" in battle as distinguished from the slam-bang assault on strong enemy positions. The various chapters record certain aspects of the great battles and campaigns of history, from the Graeco-Persian wars on through the Arab-Israel conflict, which illustrate his thesis. But perhaps the best part of the book is the brief but searching preface, which deals with our present prospect as affected by the new weapons and which cannot fail to stir the layman as well as the soldier to serious thinking about whether we are moving in the right direction.

That the new weapons, the nuclear weapons in particular, must be developed by the Western nations, and more rapidly and efficiently than by the Communists, is not questioned. But Hart believes they are so sure to bring well-nigh total disaster to nations employing them that neither side will initiate their use. He therefore believes that precisely as the H-bomb reduces the likelihood of an all-out war, it increases the possibilities of limited war and widespread local aggression; in fact, he observes that the Communist nations are waging such wars with great ingenuity, using guerrilla tactics and infiltration of ideas. Significantly he quotes from an early master of deception in war, Sun Tzu, who in 500 B. C. observed that "supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting."

In Melville's Footsteps

YANKEE WHALERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By A. B. C. Whipple. Doubleday. $3.95.

Mr. Whipple, assistant editor of *Life*, has taken "Moby Dick" for a compass and gone sailing through the wonders and terrors of the great period of American whaling. In those days true-to-life adventures dwarfed fiction however vivid, however bizarre, but fiction had a Melville to transmute those adventures into purest gold. Mr. Whipple tells wonderful stories of rogue whales, cannibals, marooners, and runaway sailors, choosing the incidents in which Melville himself was an actor or in which, since they were the episodes told again and again by seasoned whalemen, he was saturated. He does not address his book to Melville scholars or students of the whaling industry. He is a fan of maritime adventures and had a "whale of a good time" doing the research for his yarns. Readers who share that interest will have as good a time reading his book. The illustrations by Richard M. Powers are stylish and effective.

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Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

TWO major openings, neither of them in New York, dominate the mid-October scene. At the Philadelphia Museum of Art the Arensberg collection is at long last on permanent view in a series of galleries near the closely related Gallatin collection. With these two superbly selected concentrations Philadelphia now rivals New York as a center for the study of European painting and sculpture from about 1905 to about 1925. The Arensberg collection has a near monopoly on the work of Marcel Duchamp and a clear lead in that of Brancusi. The selecting was done in the heroic years when nearly everything was available, and furthermore when time had not yet projected the few above the many in the movement called cubism. Thus many of the secondary painters, generally missing or badly represented elsewhere, can be seen in their proper company. The experience is not unlike reading Guillaume Apollinaire on cubism: the reactions are at once fresh and historically authentic. The Arensbergs were also leaders in the pre-Columbian field. In installing their acquisitions, the curators of the Philadelphia Museum have developed a fine integration of ancient and modern styles which are fundamentally sympathetic.

At the Baltimore Museum of Art (through November 21) a remarkable exhibition in three parts celebrates the theme of Man and His Years in Art and Life. The museum collaborated with the Joint Committee on Geriatrics of the Baltimore Medical Society and the Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland. One section shows the work of late beginners (a modern phenomenon, with examples including André Bauchant, Morris Hirschfield, John Kane, Louis Vivin, and Grandma Moses); another, the portrayal of old people (with the examples running from pre-Gothic to modern times); and a third, the late style of artists in comparison with their early work. For me, at least, this third section is of enthralling interest. Since I wish to write about some young artists now showing in New York, I can make only brief mention of what can be seen in Baltimore, with the comment that exhibitions seldom have a theme so intelligently considered or so admirably worked out. Early and late works of Greco, Rubens, Rembrandt, Chardin, Goya, Delacroix, Corot, Pissarro, Cézanne, Renoir, Homer, Maurer, Hartley, Rouault, Braque, and Picasso are on view.

Herbert Katzmann, whose exhibition closes October 23 at the Alan Gallery, is well launched into artistic maturity. The surge and power of the samples shown two years ago among Fifteen Americans at the Museum of Modern Art have been extended and made more complex. Brooklyn Bridge, a looping mass of blacks shoved left against a heaving olive field of sky and water, is at once violent and disciplined. In many of Katzmann's pictures you look down from a height on a world that whirls away from you at great speed, whether it be Brooklyn Bridge or a still life or a nude drying her hair or even Thomas Eakins's old theme transformed—Single Scull. As a colorist Katzmann is both brilliant and refined; for him contrast means no loss of resonance. There are strong overtones of Soutine, but the flat design is more emphatic, so that one thinks, at least in the figure pieces, of a Modigliani suddenly energized. A closer look, however, will show that in addition to all these effects Katzmann is powerfully alert to three-dimensional structure; hence the shift to a plane of closely related color that makes all the difference in degree of projection or recession. Some day, I suppose, this will all turn out to be the early style of Herbert Katzmann. I shall be much interested to watch what evolves as the decades go by.

A still younger artist, David Sawin, opens at the Korman Gallery on October 25 (through November 20). In the past two years Sawin has developed to a point where I for one am ready to suggest that we have an artist with a future, on the usually tenable theory that we have an artist with a present. These oils are murally conceived but painted with the greatest concern for subtlety of texture, exact placement in darkly receding spaces, and color glowing from phosphorescent depths. They pertain to the city and to states of mind that it induces. I would call them nocturnal Légers were it not for their textures, which are as far removed from Léger as it is possible to be. Though they are composed in color they work in a powerful language of light and dark conceived as space; as evidence, I recommend a study of the few black-and-whites that are shown. If you can imagine the Piranesi of the

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prison series responding to New York streets at night with an obbligato of fire engines and traffic lights and the shouts of unseen people, all muted by time and distance, perhaps you will come somewhere near the character of this painter's work.

Charles Shaw (*Passedoit Gallery*, October 11-30) is exhibiting what by the passage of years is no longer young work. One of our pioneers in abstract painting, he has now achieved a quality of moderation and graciousness which surely has its place in our frenzied world. On the whole I prefer his small and medium-sized pictures, for his gift is not a mural one. He can turn a flutter of newspapers or a corner of a bookstore into a gentle visual poem.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE critic who reviews a Faulkner novel is rarely the same person who is asked to notice a collection of True Stories. The situation in the theater is entirely different. It is assumed that all "flesh shows" are somehow "legitimate" theater and that the man who is delighted by "Anniversary Waltz" is qualified to deal with Strindberg. Such an assumption is no more valid than the opposite belief that a critic who proves discerning about Shaw or Chekhov is necessarily a fit judge of "Can-Can." It is part of the confusion of our theatrical times that the "ten best plays" of the year—the "Golden Dozen," as they are now being advertised—may include "The Pajama Game" with "The Confidential Clerk."

All these plays have a right to exist, since, for one thing, they answer specific needs, but it is disastrous to think of them as equivalent merely because they all form part of "show business." One of the reasons we are led to think of these entertainments as items in the same category is that to be socially in the swim we feel obliged to rush to all the hits, in which case "Sabrina Fair" is more valuable than "Ladies of the Corridor."

In a recent article Walter Kerr of the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out the advantages of what might be termed the "double standard" in the London theater. He referred to the fact that the English theatergoing public is quite prepared to accept mild little family comedies along with the sturdier fare represented by such plays as those of Christopher Fry. Kenneth Tynan, dramatic critic of the London *Observer*, commenting on Mr. Kerr's article, deplores the "double standard," blames it in a certain measure for the defection of recent English drama, and calls for greater severity as a partial remedy.

The reason for the discrepancy of critical approach in the two countries is partly an economic one. The theater is cheaper in England, and relatively many more people throughout the country are consistent theatergoers. Writing in New York, I tend to side with Mr. Kerr in his praise of the leniency of the English audiences; were I writing in London, I should probably take Mr. Tynan's position. Yet though Mr. Kerr and Mr. Tynan have accurately observed the differences in the English and the American theatrical situation in regard to the degree of the audiences' and reviewers' tolerance, neither, it seems to me, has encompassed the problem.

A critic may be pleasant with "Kismet," and stern with "Camino Real" without necessarily impairing his mind

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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or debauching his readers' taste. The critic, without damage to the theater, may pursue not only a double standard but as many standards as are compatible with what he finds in each particular play. His value lies not so much in what he likes or dislikes as in his definitions. Above all, he must try to be lucid within the range of his own personality, mood, and prejudices—temporary or permanent.

A European screen writer some years ago submitted a "story" to a Hollywood producer. The producer suggested alterations. The exasperated writer protested, "I am offering you champagne and you are trying to turn it into Coca-Cola." "I prefer Coca-Cola" was the producer's bland reply—in my opinion, a very good one. What should be demanded of a critic, and an audience, is to be able to recognize the difference between Coca-Cola and champagne, and never to speak of either in praise or in disparagement as if they were the same thing.

My difficulty with Harry Kurnitz's "Reclining Figure" (Lyceum Theater) is that I could never quite make up my mind what sort of potion it was intended to be. Its subject—the art business—is fresh and interesting. The snobbery which frequently accompanies the growing art consciousness of our prosperous public invites comic treatment. There are a number of amusing cracks throughout the play, and I found most of the last act hilarious—particularly the scene in which an art dealer attempts to sell a Toulouse-Lautrec to a lady in Texas who recognizes the French painter by identifying him with José Ferrer, the appearance of a testily superior curator of a Cleveland museum, the arrival of one of Renoir's old cronies who remembers the master chiefly by the meals they ate.

Yet much of the play seems labored because it tells its story with an unwarranted "straightness," and because its sophistication shows the strain of a certain intellectualism not uncommon in theater and motion-picture circles, where Berlioz, Hemingway, Paul Klee, the latest of Billy Wilder's film triumphs, and the politics of Henry Luce are all discussed in the same breath. The play's material might fittingly serve a Molnar or a George Kaufman—the mixture of the two styles does not make for a smooth brew.

Abe Burrows's direction is assorted—ranging from something like musical comedy and vaudeville to near melodrama without achieving any unified tone. Hence, though the company is full of capable players, there is something muscle-bound in the proceedings. Martin Gabel, a well-endowed actor, often seems to be demonstrating his characterization cleverly, but he embodies it only intermittently. Percy Waram, another good actor, plays a crusty millionaire with a quality which strikes one as more civilized than that of all the "cultured" folk who try to hoodwink him and to whom he is supposed to serve as a foil. Nehemiah Persoff and Alfred Hesse, playing bit parts, are funny in two of the scenes I have mentioned. The production wants a particular flavor.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE New York City Opera has repeatedly undertaken works that one would have thought beyond its resources and powers—a formidable modern work like Berg's "Wozzeck," an equally formidable old work like Rossini's "La Cenerentola"—and carried them off with astonishing success. But with Verdi's "Aida" there is no succeeding without the resources for grandiose spectacle the company doesn't have; and with the resources it does have its present revival achieves pathetic absurdity. Nor is there, this time, the fine performance of the music which the company offered in 1948. "Aida" also requires singing that is spectacular in beauty and amplitude of tone and style, which it didn't get at the opening-night performance from Frances Yeend, the Aida, Gloria Lane, the Amneris, or Giorgio Cocolios-Bardi, the Rhadames—the one impressive vocal performance being that of Lawrence Winters, the Amonasro. I speak of such

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singing as I heard—which is to say the singing that wasn't drowned by the coarse-toned, raucous playing the orchestra did under Rosenstock's direction. It is true that the City Center's acoustics are very poor; but I have heard other conductors produce orchestral playing there that was beautifully balanced and blended and adjusted to the singing; and it is evident that this is something Rosenstock doesn't have the ear for.

As for "La Cenerentola" the next night, the musical performance lacked again what a more suitable conductor than Rosenstock would contribute in style, sharpness, and tension; and in addition it was sung less well this time. In place of Frances Bible, who had astonished one with her unexpected bravura style in the florid writing, there was Rosemary Kuhlmann, who has a fine mezzo-soprano voice but who sang the florid passages with evident effort; and this effort was evident also in the otherwise good singing of John Druary. The Dandini was Donald Gramm, about whom I wrote three years ago that his fresh bass voice was one of the most beautiful I had heard in years, and who shocked me now with the deterioration of the voice in this short period. But Richard Wentworth was again a superb Don Magnifico, and Laurel Hurley an excellent Clorinda. And the stage performance directed by Otto Erhardt—with the charming scenery and costumes of Rouben Ter-Arutunian, the make-ups of Michael Arshansky, and the inappropriate spoof of ballet replaced by a dance episode devised by Charles Weidman—was again a delight. This is the company's best production; and I was depressed by the small audience it drew.

Listening to Harold Shapero's Symphony for Classical Orchestra on Columbia ML-4889 I hear confirmation of the observations by Aaron Copland quoted on the envelope—that "few musicians of our time put their pieces together with greater security," and that "this technical adroitness is put at the service of a wonderfully spontaneous musical gift." I also am aware of occasional echoings of Beethoven that Copland contends represent Shapero's "compulsion to fashion his music after some great model," but which I think Shapero is right in attributing rather to subconscious tonal memory. The work is, then, evocative of the past but stamped with the impress of the composer's own mind in the way some of Stravinsky's works are; and it is like Stravinsky's also in the assured mastery of the operation and the engaging result. It is given a beautiful performance by Leonard Bernstein with a Columbia orchestra.

As it happens, one of Stravinsky's works of that kind, the Symphony in C (1940)—characteristic in its exciting ostinatos and tensions, and much of it very engaging—is on Columbia ML-4899, performed by Stravinsky with the Cleveland Orchestra. With it is the Cantata (1952), only very little of which I find moving or attractive, and which is sung well by Jennie Tourel and Hugues Cuenod with members of Margaret Hillis's New York Concert Choir and the Philharmonic Chamber Ensemble under Stravinsky's direction.

MGM E-3119 offers a minor item by Copland, his Two Pieces for String Orchestra (1923 and 1928) and a number of bigger and more elaborate pieces by other composers that I don't care for: David Diamond's Rounds and Roger Goeb's Three American Dances for String Orchestra, Quincy Porter's Music for Strings, and Vincent Persichetti's "The Hollow Men" for strings and trumpet. Good performances under Izler Solomon's direction.

Two of Britten's best pieces, "Les Illuminations" for tenor and strings, and Serenade for tenor, horn, and strings, are on London LL-994 sung by Peter Pears with Dennis Brain and the New Symphony under Goossens. Pears's quavering voice is not much pleasure to listen to; and a more enjoyable performance of the Serenade by David Lloyd, James Stagliano, and members of the Boston Symphony is on Boston 205.

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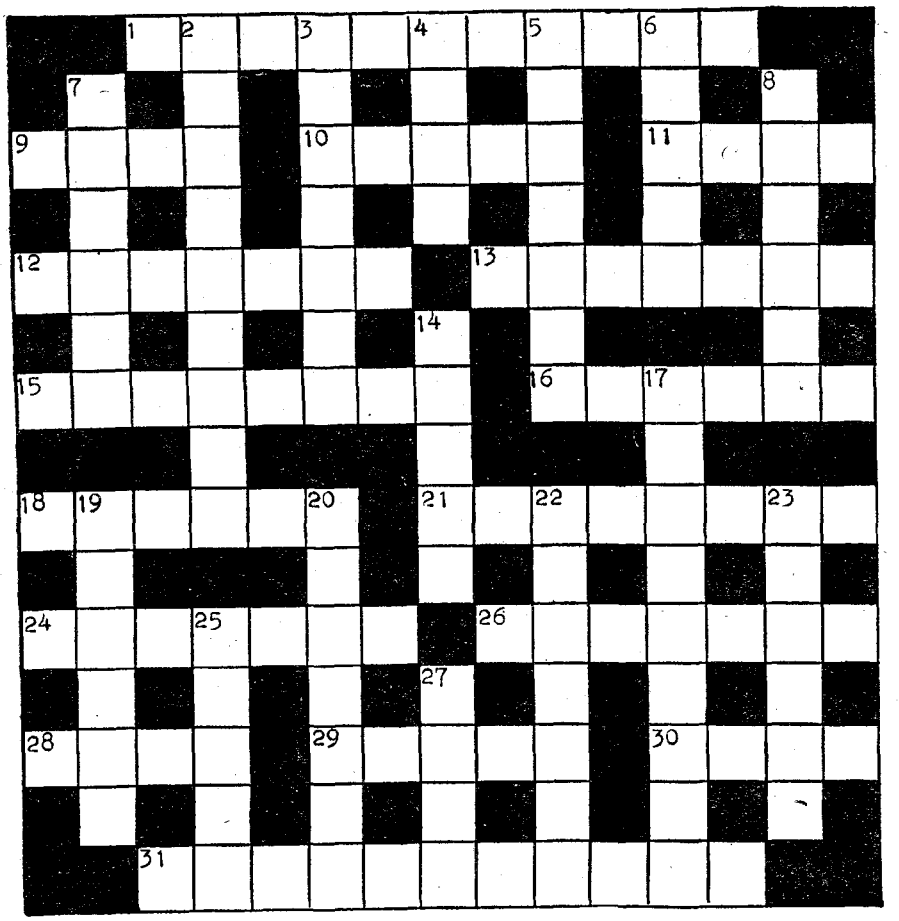
Crossword Puzzle No. 590

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 9 and 10. See 29 across.
11 Stream of sudden light reflected? (4)
12 Angle measured clockwise from south or north. (7)
13 What comes from pig in what comes from sheep. (7)
15 Not quite so ridiculous as a malapropism. (8)
16 Eliot's Florentine woman. (6)
18 One who doesn't make an original bullet. (6)
21 A cross-bow is nothing less than a sort of astrolabe. (8)
24 See 29 across.
26 What one doesn't like to have with an automobile. (7)
28 See 14 down.
29, 24, 8 down; 9, 1, 31 and 10 across. Evidently the girls think the ball is flat (because of the drill?). (3, 2, 3, 4, 3, 3, 4, 3, 2, 4, 2, 3, 3, 2, 3, 5)
30 and 25 down. They're bigger than 17, but the owners are not original even if benevolent. (4, 5)
31. See 29 across.

DOWN

2 Conducive to happiness, despite the evilly inspired ending. (9)
3 These cells see the rise of a dumb Irishman! (7)
4 and 23. What might be on foot moves stealthily. (10)
5 Might light in London? (7)
6 Turban worn by the ancient Persians. (5)
7 Red dog? (6)
8 See 29 across.
14, 22 down and 28 across. Suns? (5, 5, 2, 4)
17 They don't take cream fillings, however! (4, 5)
19 Put a wig on, as one sometimes has to do to bow? (6)
20 Latin, eligible for the draft? (7)
22 See 14 down.
23 See 4 down.
25 See 30 across.
27 Intimidated by a short day? (4)

—✖—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 589

ACROSS:—1 OUT OF WHACK; 6 and 12 USED CARS; 10 FANCIER; 11 ARREARS; 13 SALMAGUNDI; 15 RADIOED; 16 and 24 down RADICAL SIGN; 17 FEEL OUT; 20 STEPHEN! 22 HORNBLENDE; 23 SPAR; 25 DISEASE; 26 PRIMULA; 27 YEAR; 28 COMPONENTS.

DOWN:—1 OFFICER OF THE DAY; 2 TANCRED; 3 FLIP; 4 HARVARD; 5 CHARMER; 7 STANNIC; 8 DISCIPLINARIANS; 9 BRIGADIER; 14 MOTORBOAT; 18 EURASIA; 19 THERETO; 20 SODA POP; 21 HEPBURN.

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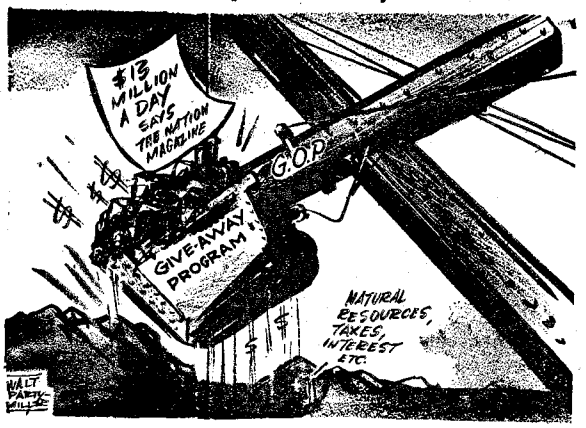

Editorial Cartoon, Page 1
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